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FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1919

Congressional and Legislative Files of the National Woman's Party.

Senator Curtis Being Shown His Record by Miss Younger, Legislative Chairman

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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Notes of the Week

To the Readers of the Suffragist

BEGINNING with the next issue THE SUFFRAGIST will hereafter be a monthly publication instead of a weekly. This decision has been made on account of two conditions: first, since suffrage has now reached the stage at which the situation varies little from week to week and it is not so vitally necessary that its adherents over the country be kept minutely and momentarily informed concerning its changes; second, because it is felt to be imperative that every bit of energy and, primarily, every bit of the available funds be put into the actual work for ratification.

Since the change to the monthly plan will entail much less expense, it is hoped that a considerable sum may in that manner be saved for ratification work in the states, that women may be assured of the vote in the 1920 elections; and it is believed that subscribers will, with this end in view, enter whole-heartedly with the publishers into this new arrangement. This is, then, the last weekly issue; the next number will appear the last of October and be dated November.

"The Price of a Child"

THE Nation of August 30 has an article on "The Price of a Child." Professor William F. Ogburn, of Columbia University, has gathered statistics in Philadelphia from families whose incomes range from $800 to $2,000 a year. According to his estimating the amount paid for food for a child from birth to sixteen years is $718. This sum represents the additional expenditure of the family. The cost of the food which the child consumed is estimated at $1,750. The difference between these two sums represents the economics which must be practised by the working class family to feed one child for sixteen years. The figures prove that in actual practice the child of the working class gets neither sufficient clothing nor sufficient food.

The connection between underpayment and infant mortality was given in the famous Children's Bureau investigation some years ago. When a family income was $450 or less annually 167 out of every 1,000 babies died; when the family income was $1,250 or more annually 59 out of 1,000 babies died. These figures represent money valued as it was before the present great increase in prices.

The Nation article gives another interesting fact in regard to the value put upon a child by giving prices which were paid for children when slavery prevailed in this country. These show that more was paid for a child by a slave owner than is expended now in many cases in the support of a child for sixteen years. Prices ranged from $350 to $950. The article adds, "In 1852 boys of 12 years were appraised at $75 and girls of the same age at only fifty—which indicates perhaps, among other things, the low estimate which an age of chivalry placed upon the worth of women."

Votes for Italian Women

ON September 5 the Italian Chamber of Deputies passed a law extending the franchise to women by a vote of 174 to 55. The law will give votes to 11,000,000 women, whose numbers thus exceed those of male electors in Italy. Premier Nitti in his speech advocating the adoption of the measure explained that it would be impossible for women to vote in the next general election owing to the lack of time in compiling the voting list for which the status of the women would have to be examined into.

Colorado Governor Postpones Session

A TELEGRAM from Dr. Caroline Spencer, of the Colorado Woman's Party, brings word that Governor Shoup has postponed the special session in Colorado, for which he had issued a call with date set as October 15. Notwithstanding the fact that he had been urged to set the date earlier, in September if possible, the Governor has now, by his most recent action, prevented action on ratification in Colorado for a whole month longer. The new date announced is for November 15.

In Holland

A CABLE dispatch from The Hague dated September 9, states that a bill granting active and passive suffrage to women has been passed in the First Chamber by 34 to 5.

Kentucky Democrats for Ratification

IN Kentucky the Democratic state convention which met September 4 included in its platform a clause providing for the support of the federal suffrage amendment. There was a contest over the question of the endorsement of the federal amendment or the inclusion of an article in support of a state amendment. State Senator J. C. Beckham representing the faction in favor of state action did not appear.

Girton College Fifty Years Old

GIRTON College, Cambridge, the first woman's college to be connected with one of the great English universities is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary and after fifty years women are not yet admitted to university degrees by either Cambridge or Oxford. In 1865 the Cambridge authorities decided to admit women to examinations. In 1869 Emily Davies, LL.D., conceived the idea of a college for women connected directly with the university and started out on her enterprise with six students who received instruction from Oxford and Cambridge professors. Of these original six students two took second and one third honours in the final examination.

The first woman took a first in 1880 when Dr. Charlotte Angus Scott, now of the faculty of Byrn Mawr College, captured the mathematical honours for the entire university. This honour won by a woman aroused so much interest that a great effort was made to admit women to the A.B. degree of Cambridge. The degree was refused to them and they were admitted to the honour examinations only—there never being so much difficulty in getting the right for women to do the work as to share the honours.

Up to the present time, with women still excluded from degrees and with many fewer women attending Cambridge than men, three-fourths of the women who have studied at Girton have won honours in the triposes.

Women and High Prices

ENGLISH women are demanding equal control with men in all departments of the government. They are specially eager for a voice in the campaign against high prices, according to an article in *The Vote*, published by the Women's Freedom League. They point out to the government that "women of the working and middle classes know infinitely more about the results of high prices and profiteering on the lives of the men, women and children of this country than all the fifteen men put together appointed to the High Prices and Profiteering Committee will ever learn. If women had been in control of the government policy they would have seen that the government's first business was to keep down the prices of food and all ordinary clothing, even if both had to be rationed."

Women in England, however, as in the United States, have so far been conceded no administrative powers by the government, and the Freedom League notes a recent advertisement by the Insurance Department for women inspectors between 22 and 30 years of age, with university degrees or experience in paid social work, at a salary of £100. This idea of a suitable salary for a woman university graduate was held by such government departments in this country as the War Trade Board, which at the outbreak of the war offered women specially trained in languages work at $800.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several states:

"ARTICLE.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 35 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.
February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by one of the necessary two-thirds vote.
June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by one vote over necessary two-thirds majority.
May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

Ratification by States

1. Wisconsin
June 10
House vote 54-2
Senate 24-1

2. Michigan
June 10
Unanimous vote

3. Kansas
June 16
Unanimous vote

4. Ohio
June 16
House vote 73-6
Senate 27-3

5. New York
June 16
Unanimous

6. Illinois
June 17
Senate unanimous
House vote 133-4

7. Pennsylvania
June 24
House vote 53-54
Senate 32-6

8. Massachusetts
June 25
House vote 185-47
Senate 34-5

9. Texas
June 28
House vote 96-21
Senate unanimous

10. Iowa
July 2
House vote 95-5
Senate unanimous

11. Missouri
July 3
House vote 124-4
Senate 28-3

12. Arkansas
July 29
House vote 76-17
Senate 29-2

13. Montana
July 30
House unanimous
Senate 38-1

14. Nebraska
August 2
Unanimous vote

15. Minnesota
September 8
House vote 120-6
Senate 60-5

16. New Hampshire
September 10
House vote 212-143
Senate 14-10

The Suffragist

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14 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
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Ratification in the South

THE sixteenth state has ratified. This honor might have gone to either one of the Democratic states of Alabama or Virginia, had they so chosen. It went to neither.

Both these states were in session during the week preceding September 9, when Minnesota, the fifteenth state, ratified. To both was open the opportunity of following the splendid lead of Texas and Arkansas, the first southern states to ratify,—of vindicating the Democratic South in its suffrage attitude. Both chose instead to follow Georgia's example, to help confirm the Republican assertion—"You'll get no support from the Southern Democrats."

SOME Southern newspapers have done valiant service in behalf of ratification, trying earnestly to impress their people with the political importance of the measure. Democratic national leaders have used very considerable effort in these two states, appealing eloquently to Party loyalty and expediency.

It is all very well, in view of this, for men of political importance in Alabama to disclaim the action of the legislature as unrepresentative of the state and Party feeling. It is all very well for Virginia newspapers to claim a "suffrage victory" because the Senate prevented actual **defeat** of the Amendment by not allowing it to come up. The campaign has stirred up much un-looked for support and much fine feeling in both states. But the fact remains that these two states which were **already in session,** turned down suffrage,—that ratification, to all intents and purposes, was defeated, since it was not furthered.

NATIONAL Democratic leaders still assure us of their earnest support. But what conclusions are women to draw concerning a party which is friendly in theory and so palpably hostile wherever it is put to the practical test?

Schedule of Legislative Sessions

States in Session This Month

Alabama—(Where Senate voted 19 to 13 against ratification in July, and 18 to 13 against on September 2.)

Minnesota—(Special session. Ratified September 8.)

New Hampshire—(Special session. Ratified September 10.)

To Be In Session Later This Month

Utah—(Special session called for September 29 for suffrage.)

Special Session Called

Colorado—(Special session called for November 15 for suffrage and other subjects.)

States Which Meet in Regular Session in 1920

* Ratified.
† Special Session.

Georgia	June
Kentucky	January
Louisiana	January
*Massachusetts	January
Mississippi	January
New Jersey	January
†*New York	January
Rhode Island	January
South Carolina	January
Virginia	January

States Which Do Not Meet in Regular Session Until 1921

Arizona	January
†*Arkansas	January
California	January
Colorado	January
Connecticut	January
Delaware	January
Delaware	January
Florida	April
Idaho	January
*Illinois	January
Indiana	January
†*Iowa	January
†*Kansas	January
Maine	January
*Michigan	January
*†Minnesota	January
†*Missouri	January
†*Montana	January
†*Nebraska	January
Nevada	January
*†New Hampshire	January
New Mexico	January
North Carolina	January
North Dakota	January
*Ohio	January
Oklahoma	January
Oregon	January
*Pennsylvania	January
South Dakota	January
Tennessee	January
*Texas	January
†Utah	January
Vermont	January
Washington	January
West Virginia	January
*Wisconsin	January
Wyoming	January

New Hampshire Ratifies

THE long battle of the Woman's Party for suffrage ratification in New Hampshire is at last at an end. On Tuesday, September 9, the day after Minnesota proudly placed herself upon the roll of states who favor democracy, the New Hampshire legislature met in special session to consider the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment. On that same day the House of Representatives passed the ratification resolution by a vote of 212 to 143. The Senate took up the question on the following day, September 10. The resolution passed there also, the vote being quite close—fourteen ayes and ten noes.

Before the poll compiled by Mrs. Lois Warren Shaw and her assistants in the state was completed, some little anxiety had been felt concerning New Hampshire, for it will be remembered that New Hampshire was the state whose legislators signed a petition calling upon Senator Moses to vote for the Federal Amendment, and then repudiated their signatures to a large extent when in legislative session. The poll was completed with much effort and energy expended by the workers of the Woman's Party Ratification Committee, and in the end showed that suffrage sentiment among the legislators warranted belief in success if a special session were called for ratification. Governor Bartlett was won over to this view sooner than his Council, without whom he could not act in the matter of issuing a special session call. After much pressure had been brought to bear upon them the session was called for September 9.

Mrs. Lois Warren Shaw, New Hampshire Chairman

THE New Hampshire Campaign was begun the moment the Amendment passed the Senate in June. Women all over the state were active in seeing the Governor on the subject of a special session and interviewing legislators in regard to their proposed stand on the question of ratification. One of the strongest factors in the successful campaign waged was the committee formed by Mr. Huntley Spaulding to co-operate with the women. The committee was headed by Mr. Spaulding, the State Democratic Committee Chairman and the State Republican Committee Chairman. These three leaders enlisted the services of prominent New Hampshire men in the cause of bringing pressure upon an unwilling Council for the special session.

Senator Moses, who brought to bear such an adverse influence in the last campaign, before the Amendment passed Congress, gave his assurance to Mr. Spaulding, through other parties, that he would take no active part in the ratification campaign in New Hampshire. The possibility of his active enmity had been recognized by suffragists as a dangerous factor, since he had exhibited such strong influence in state politics on the previous occasion. Relief was felt everywhere when the ratification resolution was passed in the legislature by a narrow but safe margin.

Suffrage Index of Good

How the Card System Which Forced Congress Into Line

Reprint from the New York Ti

IN many parts of the country members of state legislatures are wondering what suddenly happened to them. The farmer legislator—to take an illustration from the most disturbed class—found, before the storm which, arising apparently from nowhere, had descended upon him with a galelike sweep, that all was quiet as a Summer's day in his district. He was perhaps cutting hay, politics free, having by that time completely forgotten that only a short time before he had answered a letter declining to call upon the Governor of his state to assemble the legislature in special session to vote on the ratification of the Federal women's suffrage amendment. He couldn't (he wrote) discover any sentiment among his people in favor of incurring the expense of an extra session for the purpose named. Then came the first signs of the political storm. Letters, telephone messages, telegrams began to arrive in large numbers, begging, demanding that he ask the Governor to call the extra session of the legislature. Delegations next descended upon him. Thereafter, night or day, he scarcely has had any rest. It is a deepening mystery to him where all the clamor and pressure come from.

The trouble with the legislator is that he has been card-indexed.

From the national headquarters of the National Woman's Party at Washington the card-index machinery which, to get enough votes to pass the suffrage amendment, pushed so many members of Congress over the line and made them come out in favor of it, this card-index machine has been quietly extended to exert the same kind of many-sided pressure on the members of state legislatures. All state legislators and all governors of states are now being indexed by the Lobby Committee of the National Womans' Party. In each case there is the same searching inquiry as to what kind of pressure a particular legislator or Governor is most susceptible to that was employed in rounding up Senators and Representatives at Washington. Later other state officials and the mayors of cities are also to be card-indexed. Irony is added to the extraordinary situation by the fact that card-indexed Senators and Representatives are being used to swing the coils of card-indexing around Governors and members of the state legislatures.

When the system is completed it will go beyond what men politicians have ever dreamed of. As conceived it will be a double machine. There will be two sets of levers. One set will connect with members of Congress who can be put into action for pressure in the states. The other set of levers will connect with Governors and members of state legislatures who can be put into action for pressure on Congress. By means of this machine the leaders of the National Woman's Party are confident that the suffrage amendment will be ratified by the states before the end of this year and certainly in time for the next Presidential election. Thirty-six are necessary. Twenty-four other states have been polled, the suffrage leaders assert, and will ratify as soon as their legislatures can be assembled. In all but three of these special sessions are necessary. Here is where they expect card-index pressure to do the work, and in support of this assertion they point to the fact that out of the fourteen ratifications up to this time half were by special session.

MORE remarkable than the general statement of card-index pressure is the detail of how it has been and is being used to achieve ratification. Miss Maud Younger, Chairman of the Lobby Committee of the National Woman's Party, who is an enthusiast on card-indexing for political purposes, went into the details freely in Washington the other day, illustrating her revelations by actual telegrams, letters, and memoranda on the cards of the index system which had played a part in the operations of the scheme. Names were sometimes withheld. Miss Younger said:

"Miss Paul, our Chairman, went to Governor J. A. A. Burnquist of Minnesota soon after the amendment was passed and got him to send this telegram:

June 9, 1919.

To all Governors:

I believe Minnesota Legislature will ratify suffrage amendment at this time if sufficient number of states will do so. Will you call special session of your Legislature this year to consider ratification of suffrage amendment if Legislatures of thirty-five other states will be in session or called into session this year? I desire to call such session in Minnesota if sufficient number of Governors of other states will call sessions within their states.

J. A. A. Burnquist.

"Of those Governors who answered 'No' at the time, two have already been changed to 'Yes.' These are the Governors of Wyoming and North Dakota. Here is a copy of the original answer of Governor Carey, of Wyoming:

For the reason that Wyoming women enjoy the rights of suffrage and that special session of the Legislature to ratify the national amendment would be of no advantage to the people of the state, I do not expect to call an extra session.

Robert D. Carey.

"You see, 'no' does not discourage us. We first card-index the Governors, then we start to bring pressure to bear. We called on the Senators and Congressmen to write to the Governors. We got Will Hays, the Republican Chairman, and members of the National Democratic Committee to write. We use all political organizations. Our method is not to play one off against the other, but, through the pressure system, to induce help from each one. Out in North Dakota we used the Non-Partisan League, very strong in that section of the country. William Lemke, the Secretary of the league in that state, was of much help in causing Governor Lind J. Frazier to see the wisdom of changing his mind from his first position—opposition to calling a special session of the Legislature. Governor Frazier has now promised us that he will call a special session as soon as he can without interfering with the work of the farmers.

"You would be surprised at how we have been held up by the farmers busy with their crops. We got nine states to ratify in June, but only four in July and only one in August. In the West so many of the members of the Legislatures are farmers. It used to be lawyers. In one Western State, I am told, all the members of the Legislature are farmers or have important farm connections. And, strange to say, some of the smallest States have the largest Legislatures. But we get after them all. Card-indexing a farmer is a simpler affair than card-indexing the city man. The farmer has fewer relations to trace out.

"THERE is no doubt that the special sessions that have been called are the result of pressure, and by what we have accomplished we know we can win a sufficient number of the others. As soon as we win a Governor we start him to work to get another Governor to call a special session. At the recent conference of Governors at Salt Lake City, Utah, we had Governors working on other Governors. Governors who were specially active in our behalf were Governor Allen of Kansas, Governor Shoup of Colorado, and Governor Sproul of Pennsylvania. And do you know that Senator Penrose helped to get the amendment through for us in Pennsylvania, after voting against it in the Senate? We had Mrs. Robert Baker, our political Chairman, at the Salt Lake conference and many delegations of women from nearby States were sent in. We fairly bombarded them with telephones and telegrams. Our monthly telephone and telegraph bill in this office amounts to $500. One Governor told us privately that he was sorry he had taken a position in the beginning against call-

ood and Bad Governors

o Line Is Being Used to Expedite Ratification by States

York Times of Sept. 7, 1919

ing a special session, and wouldn't have done so if he had known how much agitation was going to follow. I do not wonder!

"Our plan of attack is this: By means of the card-index system we go after the members of the Legislatures. When we win a particular legislator we get him to write to the Governor asking that a special session of the Legislature be called. In California, my native State, I induced a labor representative to write to the Governor, and that's the way it started there. One of the arguments we have to overcome is that of expense, that an extra session will be a burden on the taxpayers. Another is of the time the members will lose. This letter from one of our Chairmen in a Western State illustrates how we meet those objections:

We have already proceeded along the "Kansas plan" in this State regarding the special session and found that most of our Assemblymen were willing to donate car fare, and we suggested that in any district where the legislator felt he could not afford it the women of his constituency would be glad to take up a collection or give a strawberry festival or something in order to raise the funds.

None of these things will need to be done, as the Governor announced his intention to call a special session about two days after our delegation of thirty prominent women waited upon him.

We are now putting on the "screws" to force him to call it on or before the first of September. It has been a most interesting siege. I went up to —— first about three weeks ago and in the interest of ratification. And then last week I went up again and went on to —— where we got all the labor unions to pass resolutions calling upon the Governor to convene the special session at once!

First, the Executive and his backers said it would be so very expensive, it would not be fair to the taxpayers. We did the obvious thing: we went to the Chairman of the Budget Committee at the Capitol and had him figure it out, and we presented the gentleman with the facts. They told us it would cost $35,000. We found that a three-day session would cost at the outside $1,600!

Then they said there were so many farmers whose crops would be ruined if they had to leave to attend the Legislature. We polled them; we found that out of the 100 Assemblymen the great majority were not farmers, and we pointed out that we thought Kansas, Iowa and Missouri were farming states, and they seemed to be able to call sessions. We have met every objection so far, and now I understand the Governor has written ——, who is said to run things in the Republican Party in this state, that he will call the session in September.

We are now insisting that the Governor shall call the session, naming the definite date, so that it will be useful to us as a lever to lift other backward states into line. There is, of course, no question that the amendment will be ratified here, probably unanimously, when it is voted on.

"IN many of the States," continued Miss Younger, "we have persuaded members of the Legislature to waive mileage and their per diem.

"We have just had an organizer going all over Delaware." Miss Younger drew a card out of the new State Legislatures index, and read the answer of the member in question as follows: "My district is opposed. I am opposed. I will not promise to vote at this time."

"See that qualification at the last," exclaimed the lobby Chairman. "That means that pressure will bring him to our side. Of course, we can win men who have any doubt in their minds. We can even swing over members who have begun with an absolute 'No.' A mere State legislator's 'No' does not mean anything to us when we have changed United States Senators. Photographs help us in converting antis, though one unacquainted with the effect of a 'photo' in work of this kind would not think so. We send a delegation to a Governor or to a member of the Legislature and have a photograph taken. The official is usually the only man present, and looks most miserable surrounded by women. The effect is that of one who has women pleading with him in vain, and that is a picture a man does not like to have reproduced widely, though he will hardly think of that aspect of the case at the time it is taken.

"We are now indexing in twenty-four states. We shall do the others as soon as the amendment is ratified. There are reasons for also wanting other state officials and mayors. You see, a mayor comes in handy, because he is the official who issues permits to speakers. In this room we expect to have indexed all the important officers of government, Federal and state, from the President and the members of the Cabinet down through Congress and the states. It is very useful to have the member of the State Legislature card-indexed; he often advances to higher political office. You can find out early in his career whether he is to be depended on.

"From this card (Miss Younger took one out) I find that this man started with a temperance hotel and wound up with a bar, he began as a reformer but didn't stick. The report on another member says his recreation is pool and that he is known as a poor loser. Here is an entry on another card; the member's name is not in the telephone book. Does not that at once give an idea of the limited activity of an official—a public man without a telephone? This is from a Kentucky member, who was asked to write to the Governor to call an extra session of the Legislature: 'As my wife is a strong suffragette and weighs 200 pounds and being very clever with the rolling pin, I am forced as a matter of self-defense to answer in the affirmative.'"

"WHAT will you do with the card system after the amendment is ratified, as you say it will be?" Miss Younger was asked.

"We are not looking that far ahead," was the answer. "Ratification first. But of course it will not be destroyed. In the future," continued Miss Younger, surveying the shiny case containing the secret information, "women will know what they have to deal with. We have to be careful to keep the door of this room locked when we are not here. Some have tried to get in; and would you believe it, sociologists have tried hard to get a peep at the cards. One, in making his plea, said it would be a wonderful help in work he was undertaking, that women get the sidelights, while men, in making a card index, depend on categorical answers. It is the 'sidelights' that are often most helpful."

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Virginia and the Susan B. Anthony Amendment

By Betty Gram and Anita Pollitzer

WHEN it was all over, men—all kinds of men—old men, young men, dull men, sprightly men emanated from the chamber called the Virginia House of Delegates, and with hats in hand rushed out and away as though they wished to leave behind something which they never wanted to see again. On their faces they carried expressions of mystery—enigmatical expressions as though they themselves would never be able to account for the deed just done. Sixty-one Virginia men had ruthlessly clapped their hands over the mouths of millions of American women. Sixty-one chivalrous southerners, law-makers of the first liberty-loving colony of the United States, had refused even to discuss a measure which affected the liberty of their own fellow men.

Sixty-one supposedly patriotic Americans had railroaded through the Legislature of Virginia, a resolution destined forever to be a blot on the records of that state; the Leedy Resolution which opposed the ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment.

No eyes met ours that day—no courteous exchange of remarks were passed after that session; there was no explaining—there was but the reckoning of a later day—for women never forget; and as we two girls wended our way back from the Capitol—but one remark passed out lips—"It is incredible—simply incredible"—

Incredible—yes—for it was only that very morning that we had gone over our poll of the members of the Legislature to again verify the fact that with the coming over of a few noncommittals we would have sufficient votes to ratify the suffrage amendment.

Three weeks before we had been told by all men, even the good friends of suffrage, that the subject would not be touched in the special session which was called for good roads and good roads alone.

SENATOR G. Walter Mapp was the first to realize that a session called for any purpose should take action on a question affecting the freedom of American women. Had not the National Democratic Committee in written resolution even urged the calling of special sessions in order that women might vote in 1920? Here was a special session already assembled—he saw the opportunity and said: "I favor it—I see every reason why it should be brought up." One by one more men saw. Our poll grew day by day—the President, the National Democratic Committee—a personal representative of the National Democratic Committee—made doubtful members realize ratification was now a man's issue and an issue to be met. To local suffragists some of whom were content with the legislators opinion—"Now is not the time," our men would point out that delay was defeat as far as suffrage and party record went.

From the outset the Senate seemed the greater task. Our House poll was now within six votes of victory, and with the constant help of Senator Mapp and Mr. Stringfellow, a close friend of Governor Davis, we succeeded in swinging into line a greater and greater number, it being the program of the leaders of both bodies to have it pass the Senate first—and then be submitted to the House which, with its poll so favorable, would unquestionably support that measure which not only the President of the United States and the National Democratic Committee had urged, but which the higher House had thus sanctioned.

ON Tuesday the Governor submitted the measure. The Suffrage Resolution was introduced by Senator Mapp, and laid over by him to be brought up for consideration at the first opportune moment. On the same day Mr. R. W. Willis, floor-leader of the House, introduced our resolution. It was sent to the Committee on Federal Relations on Friday of the same week. Senator Leedy, leader of the opposition forces, contrary to all procedure, introduced a resolution couched in scurrilous language unbecoming any document, denouncing the Susan B. Anthony Amendment and asking for its defeat. Debate started—Colonel Aubrey Strode, just returned from overseas service in France, made an eloquent appeal on the floor of the Senate in behalf of women who had done so much for their country in war-time; Senator Lee Trinkle and many others along with Senator Mapp advocated defeat of the Leedy Resolution; and in heated arguments declared that Virginia would regret forever the passing of such a pernicious resolution as that offered by Senator Leedy.

They branded the Leedy Resolution as unwarranted—uncalled for—unnecessary, since action should be taken on the original ratification resolution then pending.

Debate continued. The Senate adjourned for the week and with the re-convening of the last week of the special session, suffrage was again the chief topic under discussion—arguments pro and con were meted out in rapid fire order—all of this in the Senate, while the House was continuing to discuss road legislation and subsequent taxation. Finally the last day of the session arrived. Three Senators came from afar to cast their votes for suffrage. Senator Lee Trinkle traveled all night across the entire state of Virginia to support the cause—Senator Thornton came all the way from his important post in the Treasury Department in Washington to vote yes—and Senator Wendenberg left a most pressing murder trial over which he was presiding and travelled 50 miles in auto and six hours by train so that he might be present.

So prominent a place did suffrage take on the calendar of the Virginia Senate. Men called it the most momentous measure of the century—much was at stake—Virginia must not throw cogs in the wheels of civilization. And thinking men wrinkled their brows as the great hour approached—the hour of voting on the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

BUT wait—what was happening across the way? Unbeknownst to anybody two impulsive, unthinking youthful members of the Lower House rushed a resolution up to the speaker's desk, worded exactly like the Leedy Resolution in the Senate and with the same purpose in view. It was read, introduced and projected into the program like a red-hot meteor rushed across a serene sky—not permitted to go to committee—no chance given for debate—not one friend of suffrage recognized by the speaker—no explanation—no discussion—nothing regular—the ayes and nays were called for, and 61 men choked down the throats of their fellow members the resolution opposing the Susan B. Anthony Amendment.

And what was the result—explanations, regrets, apologies.

Lindsey Gordon, one of the oldest, ablest and most revered of men in the lower House, said afterwards in speaking to a colleague in the Senate: "For the first time in my life I hang my head in shame for my own beloved state." Delegate O. C. Davis, one of the members who resented most the injustice of railroading through the opposition resolution, spoke in profoundest indignation on the floor, immediately after the vote, "I realize the time here is short—I have never trespassed on time. This house has today done the worst thing it has ever done—it has cut us off from debate on a motion of the pending question and this House will live to regret it."

THE next day—the closing day of the session—Floorleader Willis and Delegate Gilmer, enraged and indignant over the methods used by the opposition and the irregular proceedings of the day before, read into the record resolutions declaring the spirit and wording of the opposition resolution a discourteous, unwarranted reply to the plea of President Wilson and the Democratic Party. Floor leader Willis in introducing his resolution said: "I can't believe that the legislature of Virginia meant to take the mad action it took yesterday. I want the permanent annals of this legislature to show our protest against the action of this body—The men who voted no yesterday, had rights; but the 21 men who

voted for the ratification resolution have rights also, and those rights were trampled on. Regardless of what you do gentlemen, I want this resolution of regret spread on the permanent annals of the legislature of Virginia to show that many among us deplore the use of and disapprove of the wording of the opposing resolution."

Meanwhile the battle in the Senate had gone on. In sober judgment, chagrined by the hasty work of the lower House, the suffragists in the Senate triumphed—refused to take action on the Leedy Resolution and, by a vote of 19 to 15, checked the opposition and partly saved the honor of Virginia statesmen.

The Victory in Minnesota

PRESS dispatches from Minnesota indicate that the opening of the special session of the Minnesota legislature on September 8, presented almost entirely the appearance of a suffrage rally. Suffrage was the first and main issue, and suffrage colors were flying everywhere. Women from all over the state had assembled at the State Capitol for the event, and the galleries of the two chambers were packed solidly wtih interested suffragists when the ratification resolution passed Senate and House by overwhelming majorities, one hour and a half after the time the Legislature had been declared convened. Cheers greeted the final passage in the Senate, and a band in the rotunda burst into lively music. Another news story from the "St Paul Pioneer Press" states that Miss Emily Grace Kay, of St. Paul, who reached Minnesota from Woman's Party Headquarters in Washington, where she had been for some months, was waiting with needle and thread at the Capitol, to sew the Minnesota star upon the replica of the National ratification flag which has been kept in Minnesota during the last month or so, all ready for the state's action on the amendment.

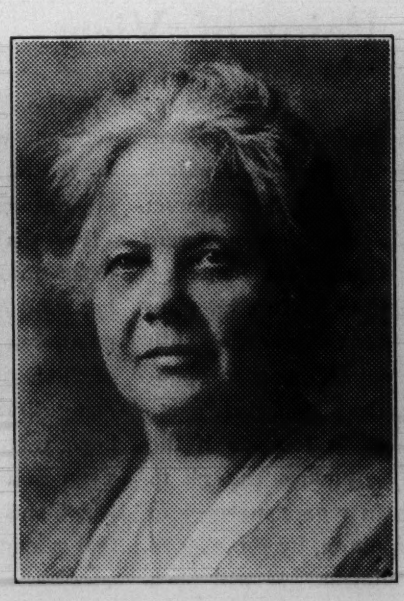
THE Minnesota Branch of the National Woman's Party has kept ratification headquarters at the St. Francis Hotel in St. Paul during the week preceding the opening of the legislature, with Mrs. Bertha C. Moller, State Secretary, in charge. As the St. Francis is headquarters for the greater part of the legislators, the ratification committee had the opportunity to welcome most of the men as they came in, and interview them upon their intentions with regard to the suffrage amendment. Women leaders felt confident before hand, that there would be almost no opposition. The vote on September 8 justified their hopes, being practically unanimous—in the House one hundred and twenty to six, in the Senate, sixty to five.

The women who have done most to carry on the work of the Woman's Party for ratification in Minnesota, and to whom great credit is due for the success of the campaign, are Mrs. A. R. Colvin, State Chairman; Mrs. Bertha Moller, State Secretary; Mrs. Alden H. Potter, Mrs. Luth Jaeger, and Mrs. A. H. Bright. Mrs. Potter was the first chairman of the Minnesota Branch, and is now Vice-Chairman of the Advisory Council of the National Woman's Party. She has been one of the State's largest contributors to the Federal work, and has herself been tireless in the campaign. Mrs. Luth Jaeger is a member of the executive board of the Minnesota Branch. She is also president of the Scandinavian Suffrage Association, with a membership of more than a thousand leading Scandinavian women of the state, which organization has at all times cooperated in every way with the work of the Woman's Party in Minnesota. Mrs. Bright is a member of the National Advisory Council. She was one of the women who helped organize the Minnesota Branch of the Woman's Party, and one of the first women of social prominence in the state to take up suffrage work in earnest. She has contributed generous sums of money, and has done much in other ways for the cause of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

Mrs. A. R. Colvin, State Chairman

The work of Mrs. Colvin and Mrs. Moller has been invaluable in the present campaign, as in all others in which they have helped. Both were in prison in Washington for participation in the Watchfire demonstrations before the White House early in the Spring.

Mrs. Bertha C. Moller, State Organizer



Mrs. Luth Jaeger, Member Minn. State Board

Mrs. A. H. Bright, Minn. Member National Advisory Council

Mrs. A. H. Potter, Minn. Member, National Advisory Council

The Book Page

About a Certain Broom

The Minority Report of Mrs. Sidney Webb, printed in the Report of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, presented to the British Parliament by command of His Majesty, King George V. and published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, April, 1919.

MRS. Sidney Webb is a refreshing person. When she is called upon for opinions or advice on social questions, the first thing she does is to take into her capable hands a broom, and with it sweep the entire floor clean, not forgetting the so-apt-to-be-forgotten corners, wherein lurk, in long undisturbed peace, all sorts of respectable, but quite untenable beliefs.

This Committee was asked to report upon "the relation which should be maintained between the wages of men and women, having regard to the interests of both, as well as to the value of their work" during the war and in industry in the future.

At the very outset, Mrs. Webb denies the very assumption that there can exist any relation except that of identity. A male and a female rate of pay seems to her brain simply stupid, besides setting loose a whole train of evils, such as the refusal to give women proper training, the degrading of woman's lives and the lowering of men's wages in many cases by the flooding of the market with all these helpless women.

So she comes out with her own Report on Women in Industry, in which she cuts clear across and through the wordy pronouncements, they hardly deserve to be called recommendations, of her fellow committee members.

It is evident that Mrs. Webb is getting tired, very tired of the old pottering ways. In her phrasing even, is to be detected occasionally a note of lady-like and well-bred impatience at the confused mass of reasons which are dragged forward for paying women less than the value of their work. Sometimes the plea is, that it isn't worth as much as the man's work. Or again it is urged that they can't need the money, because they have no one to keep but themselves, whereas the man (always, apparently) has a family. But one curiously candid admission was made by an employer witness, that if women were paid as well as the men "we probably would not get as much out of them." Another added that where women did the work better than men, it might mean paying women more than men, a possibility, evidently, too humiliating to contemplate.

While the rest of the committee were hammering their brains (and they really worked very hard) in deciding for women what work they could do best, and what work was best suited for them, considering their health, and the welfare of their present or possible babies, Mrs. Webb casts all this aside as irrelevant to the issue, and sums up the main causes of unequal pay for women as three: poor organization, want of political power, and "the vested interest of the male."

To secure such a management of industry, as shall give justice to all workers, and far more abundant production for the community she recommends:

A national minimum for every one, man and woman, alike of education, housing, sanitation and wages, based upon needs common to all, both as the individual and as the citizen. The education would include occupational qualifications; and the wage would be an occupational rate, and paid regardless of sex.

Here enters the question of family responsibilities, not allowed for in the above. The argument for higher wages on account of bringing up children is used broadly in favor of one whole sex-group as against the other. Yet within these same groups its force is not admitted. The man with a large family is not better paid than he with none at all, nor is the fact of a woman having children to support considered as any reason for paying her more than the spinster without claims. Those who fare worst of all on these shifting sands of inconsistency are the children themselves, who in national economics are always supposed to be provided for under the casual phrase of the "average family."

The idea that from now on, wages ought not to bear the charge of children at all, is one that has made great headway already in England. It had its beginnings in mothers' pensions. The matter assumed concrete shape first with the separation allowances given to the families of soldiers. These were based upon the number of children and their needs.

As the welfare of children is pre-eminently the concern of the community, their support should rest with the community, and be drawn from a "Children's Fund," in which every child should be entitled to share. Thus every baby in the land would be born with rights to an income, payable from birth to adolescence, this income to be administered by the parents.

On some lines like these, as Mrs. Webb points out, the whole question of family support will have to be settled, and with its settling, and the payment of work for the worth of the job alone, would be swept away many of the barriers in the way of securing justice for woman worker.

Beatrice Webb's Minority Report is far too valuable a document to remain buried in an official blue-book. It should be reprinted, and scattered broadcast wherever the vested interest of the male is still an important factor in deciding the wages of women.—A. H.

The Democratic Point of View

Playing Into the Enemies Hands

SENATOR Curtis, the Republican whip, is gleefully calling attention to the fact that of the fourteen states which have, to date, ratified the federal suffrage amendment, by far the majority is Republican. He is urging all Republican governors to get the legislatures together at an early date to complete the work that Curtis is canny enough to see will be used to good effect in winning western votes in 1920. Is it possible that the Democratic states are going to allow the opposition to repeat the tactics of the Senate by which the Democratic senators fell into the hands of the enemy? When Senator Lodge and his astute associates held back just enough Republican votes to prevent adoption by the last Congress of the federal suffrage amendment, The Evening Journal repeatedly pointed out to Senators Martin and Swanson the folly of their course; that in voting against the resolution they were doing exactly what the Republicans wanted.

Of course, foxy Republican leaders knew to a man the trend of the vote and chortled with glee at the impetus of the Democratic opponents of the amendment who played their game for them. Now it begins to look as if the Democratic states will be unwise enough to emulate the folly of their representatives in the upper house at Washington, by refusing to ratify the suffrage amendment. It will be a useless procedure. There is no doubt of the ratification of the amendment by the requisite thirty-six states, and if not in time for 1920, then the wrath of the women of the west will be vented on the party responsible for the disappointment to the suffrage cause at large.

We shall expect to see the Old Dominion listed among the thirty-six. To trail in after her vote is not needed will be a bitter disappointment to her women, who deserve so well of the legislature after their glorious work and many sacrifices through the war. Virginia, we hope, will lead in this respect and show to her sister states of the South the high regard in which she holds her women. It is unthinkable that a negative vote will be accorded on this question that so vitally affects the moral welfare of the country.—Richmond, Va., Evening Journal, August 16, 1919.

Comments of the Press

Oregon and Ratification

SUFFRAGE is once more before the people of the state of Oregon. This was drawn to the attention of the State the other day when the State Editor's Association in Portland called for a special session to ratify the federal suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

It goes without saying that Oregon is for the suffrage amendment unanimously. The question has become, Will Oregon ratify first or last.

When women leaders of two suffrage organizations a few weeks ago asked the Governor to call an extra session, Governor Olcott agreed to do this providing legislators would make the request and furnish their own expenses. At present, Governor Olcott, after hearing from more than a majority of the legislature, seems inclined to stand off, on the ground that the legislators have not put their agreement to his terms in the form of a request.

This is an evasion of a big and serious issue. The women of the state want the session. They know that it was the money of the eastern women, who helped them make their own campaign for suffrage in Oregon. They want to pay that debt. The men want the session. They think it only fair, in view of the war record of women, if on no other ground. They realize that though this is not a political question, the voices of the women of the nation should be heard in 1920.

Why is the Governor holding back? 14 states have ratified the suffrage amendment—and only one western state in the lot—Montana. Shall Oregon lead, or follow? There should be no question. Call the extra session and finish the job.—Milton, Ore., Eagle, August 22, 1919.

Backward Looking Legislatures

THE Virginia House of Delegates and the Alabama Senate have refused to ratify the woman suffrage amendment to the federal constitution. The obstructive action of the former legislative body is emphasized by the fact that the President sent to it a special plea urging ratification as a matter of essential national reform.

By ranging themselves against this belated act of justice—the Alabama Senate for the second time—the legislators of Virginia and of Alabama have not endangered the ratification of the amendment. Fortunately, there is enough vision, intelligence and responsiveness to the spirit of the new time in the legislative councils of the states to make ratification a certainty.

The "no" vote at Richmond and at Montgomery is a revelation of the backward working minds that dominate the legislatures of Virginia and Alabama.

The national enfranchisement of woman on terms of equality with her husband, her brother or her father is one of the readjustments imposed upon all democracies by their pledges, express or implied, and their achievements during the war. And all democracies are as surely bound to recognize and make good those pledges as they are bound to carry out their other obligations, solemnly undertaken at a time of supreme moral and material effort.

No nation is entitled to call itself a democracy which disfranchises one-half of its adult population on the basis of sex.—N. Y. City Mail, Sept. 4, 1919.

The Vote by 1920

THE National Women's Party is now starting a campaign to bring pressure on various state legislatures to take action on the federal suffrage amendment, so that the women can have the vote in time for the election of 1920.

One way or the other, this matter should be decided As this paper has pointed out before, it is a fairly sure thing that suffrage legislatures will ratify the amendment to make it effective. But that is a matter of theory, and in any case the legislatures should take action now.

If a legislature is in favor of the amendment the sooner the amendment is ratified the better. If opposed, the sooner the record is put down, the more chance of bolstering up further opposition. The procrastination of various states, including Connecticut, is a matter of exasperation.

If the enfranchising of millions of human beings is not important enough to warrant a few extra sessions of state legislatures, then what is impotrant enough for the attention of these august bodies?

It is unthinkable that legislators who can dawdle for days over laws for the elimination of the domestic skunk or for the quarantining of foul brood in bees, cannot spare the time necessary to decide the woman suffrage issue. —Bridgeport, Conn., Telegram, Aug. 21, 1919.

Missing Issues of The Suffragist

March 30, 1918; Aug. 30, 1918; January 18, 1919; May 24, 1919; June 7, 1919; June 14, 1919; June 21, 1919; July 19, 1919; July 26, 1919.

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Membership fees	9.50
Total collected by National Headquarters August 28, Through September 10	1,341.97
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	447,073.15
Total collected through September 10	448,415.12

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Total	107.00
Total collected by branches	489.00
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	94,482.30
Total collected by branches Through Sept. 10, 1919	94,971.30
Grand Total	543,386.42
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